'So Much Surrealism that Things Will Never Be the Same': A Conversation with Paul Buhle

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Abigail Susik: When did you first meet Franklin and Penelope Rosemont, and what were the circumstances of your developing friendship and collaboration?

Paul Buhle: I had been active in the short-lived local civil rights movement during 1961-62 and spent years "talking it up" in school and church groups. Becoming involved in student activism as the antiwar effort began in the Spring of 1965 offered a way for a dedicated socialist like myself to join a real mass movement, even if I was already coming prepared with my own ideas.

The first contact I made with Franklin Rosemont was a few months after the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) national convention in Clear Lake, Iowa, in August 1966. Penelope (Penny) Rosemont recalls that, while working as a printer in the National Office of the SDS in Chicago, she first heard of *Radical America* (*RA*).[1] The initial issue of *RA* appeared in January 1967, and my contact with Franklin and Penelope began that year. They didn't come to Clear Lake for the SDS convention. Franklin had a mostly negative view of SDS but was eventually won over by Penny, I think.

The first issue of *Radical America* was published while I was completing my Master's degree at the University of Connecticut–Storrs on the subject of the communist Louis C. Fraina, someone who also fascinated Franklin. *Radical America* was the result of an SDS internal education project that mostly failed, otherwise. My ambition with *RA* was to reach SDS members with material that was not dominated by news from Europe, Russia, China, etcetera. I also wanted to amplify those bohemian qualities that had kept emerging since my teenage years, which led me to see aspects of the New Left in the emerging counterculture. In contrast, Franklin was pretty unfriendly toward the counterculture, understandably in some ways, but

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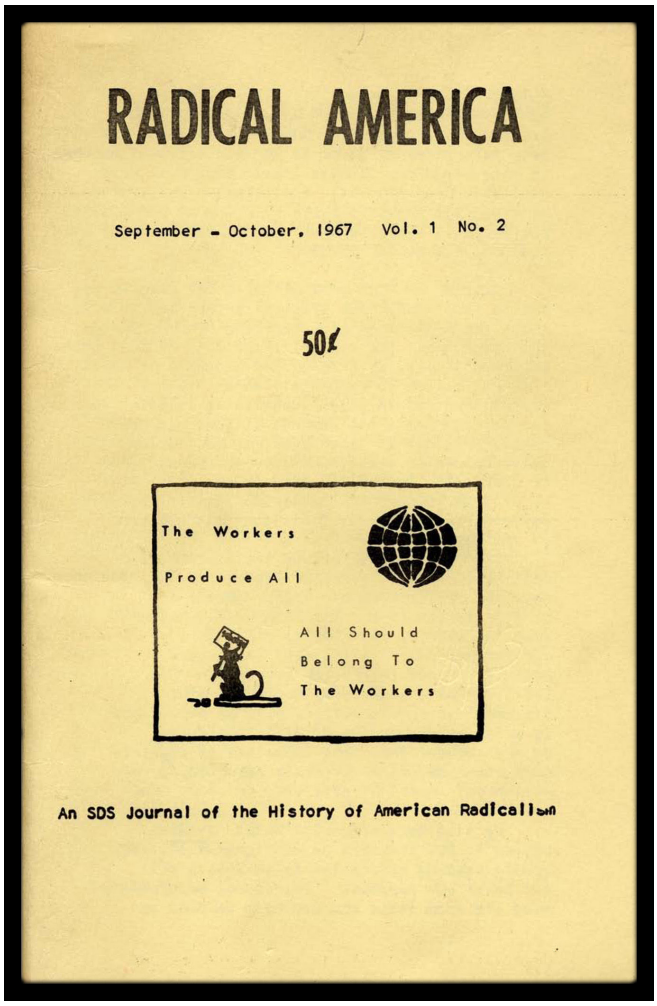

Fig. 1. Cover of *Radical America*, Volume 1, Number 2 (Sept.-Oct. 1967), Courtesy of Paul Buhle

senselessly in others.

By the Fall of 1967, when I had relocated from Connecticut to Madison, Wisconsin, Franklin and I started to have more regular contact. I was pursuing my doctorate in History at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where I wrote a dissertation on Marxism in the United States. The second issue of *RA* carried a lead essay on Industrial Workers of the World Union (IWW) history by one of Franklin's longtime friends, Fred Thompson, who, at the time, was still the leader of the IWW. Franklin had supplied the link to Thompson and later went with me to interview him in 1981.

RA itself was printed on single sheets, collated, stapled, and sent out to subscribers. The printer, who was also an enrolled "Wob"—a "wobbly" or member of the IWW, served as a leader of our campus SDS branch and was active in the

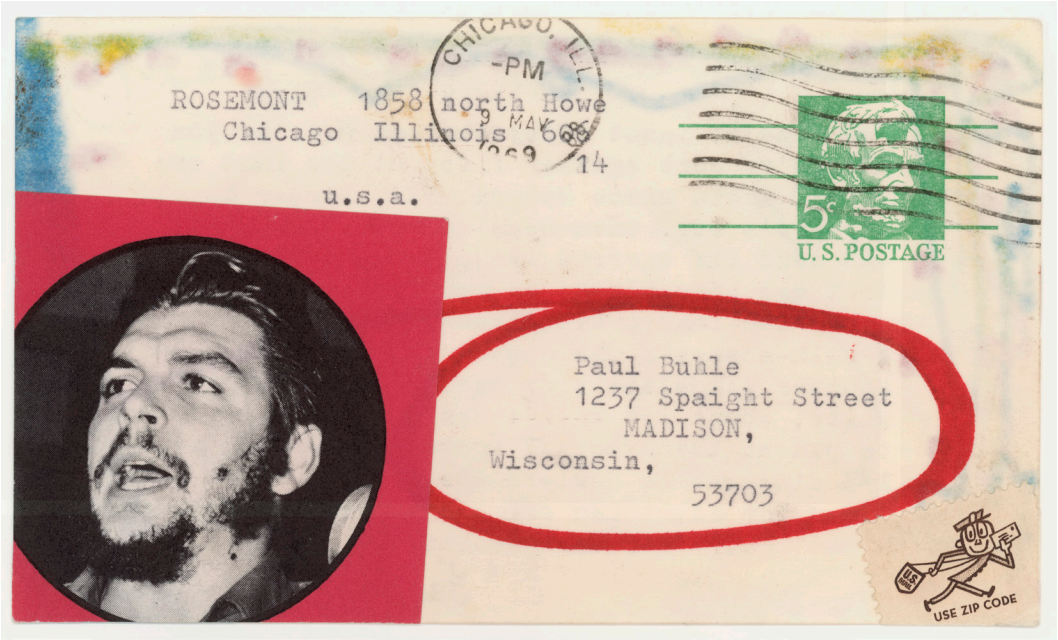

Fig. 2. Franklin Rosemont, decorated envelope for Paul Buhle, May 9, 1969, Radical America Records, 1966-1975, Wisconsin Historical Society, courtesy of Paul Buhle

teaching assistants' union.

AS: You had a particularly close relationship with Franklin Rosemont. Can you say more about some of the things you shared with him? What were some of your differences?

PB: It is interesting to me that Franklin and I were born during the same year and that we both grew up in Illinois during the 1940s-50s. He was from cosmopolitan Chicago. I was raised in the barely cosmopolitan and deeply Republican Champaign-Urbana. My father was a state geologist beloved of farmers and small-town residents because he helped them gain access to groundwater. Franklin's father was a much-admired union leader, and his mother was a musician and radio personality in Chicago radio during her early days.

Despite our different backgrounds, we were both drawn to obscure sections of the pre-1920s Left and visions of a workers' republic with no political government. My parents were liberal Republicans, Congregationalists. I had no notion of socialism until landing in San Francisco in June of 1963. The Left was still quiet, mostly, because of the legacies of repression, but the antique-appearing

Socialist Labor Party (SLP) had newspaper kiosks. I went to their open meetings, learning about Daniel De Leon, who formulated the main ideas of the IWW and trained the union's editors and writers. These union members then went even further than he had in their efforts. He was expelled from the IWW in 1907, and the SLP shrunk, like the IWW, after the middle of the 1920s. These groups had little appeal to students or intellectuals and kept their offices going through the support of aging immigrant working-class ethnic groups. So, Franklin and I were meeting similar old-timers.

Like Franklin, I was also drawn to Beat poetry during my teen years. I fell into Beat culture because I lived in a university town with a bookstore that stocked

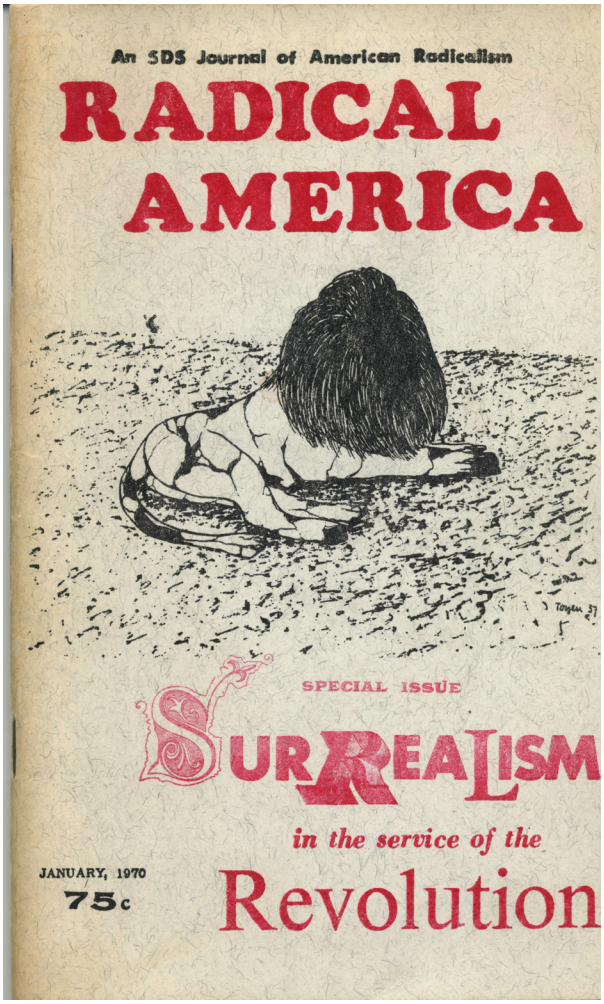

Fig. 3. Franklin and Penelope Rosemont, eds., *Radical America: Special Issue, Surrealism in the Service of the Revolution* 4 (January 1970). Cover art: copy of a 1937 drawing by Toyen, originally published in Toyen, *Les Spectres du désert*, with texts by Jindřich Heisler (Paris: Albert Skira Editions, 1939). Courtesy of Penelope Rosemont

such things. Later, this same business opened a specialty store selling LP records and my interest in Muddy Waters and other Blues musicians developed. If I tried to write poetry then, I do not remember. But Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Diane di Prima called out to me and my friends in particular.

There is one other connection: Archie Green, the famed folklorist who launched the Folksong Club at the University of Illinois in the early 1960s and reached out to me when I was still in high school. He would become the leading editor of *The Big Red Songbook* (Charles H. Kerr, 2007) and a key figure in documenting the folklore of the IWW. Of course, Franklin contributed to *The Big Red Songbook* and was deeply invested in IWW history.

Avid letter-writers in those days, Franklin and I commenced an abundant correspondence beginning in 1967 and extending over the next fifteen years. Readers of the *Radical America* and *Cultural Correspondence* collections at the Wisconsin Historical Society will find a rich trove of his letters, touching on many subjects, including Surrealism. My replies may be in his archive at the Joseph A. Labadie collection at the University of Michigan.

AS: Was Surrealism something that already interested you before you met the Rosemonts?

PB: "Surrealism" as a subject had been an unknown to me until my contact with Franklin and Penelope. My teenage interest in Beat poetry, however, had prompted a six-month pursuit of bohemianism in San Francisco during the second half of 1963. Franklin and I, as it happened, both visited City Lights Bookstore that year without knowing of each other. We were paying homage to a kind of Valhalla. Many other young people were doing the same.

Publishing *Radical America* between 1967-70, six issues per year and without a regular staff, typesetting, or a reliable printer, caused me to search out possibilities that would otherwise not have been in my purview. In January of 1970, *RA* published the special Surrealism issue edited by Franklin and Penelope Rosemont, "Surrealism in the Service of the Revolution." The year 1970 also saw the special Women's issue, which was also very popular, and a stream of other materials reflecting the struggles of the time. Franklin and Penny came up to Madison for a *RA* meeting with other out-of-town associate editors in the summer of 1970.

Poetry of various kinds also appeared scattered throughout the issues of *RA*. My magazine was eclectically Left, with many carryovers to Franklin's interests, in particular the Pan African savant that I urged upon the New Left: C.L.R. James. The wide circle of James's admirers included many writers and activists that Franklin and I shared in common. This circle included novelist Wilson Harris (Franklin introduced me to his writings), as well as a group of Northwestern University graduate students—a Black Power group— that had separate connections with

Franklin and managed to get Northwestern to invite James for a year. This residency at Northwestern legitimated James's return to the United States fifteen years after he had been expelled for what amounted to political reasons.

The Rebel Worker, the journal that the Rosemonts helped produce alongside members of the Solidarity Bookshop community in Chicago (1964-66), had expired before our contact, although I was sent a back issue or two. I could readily recognize the kinship of inclinations. Like *Radical America* during its first two years, *Rebel Worker* looked quite crude in physical terms, limited by low-cost technology.

AS: What was it like working with the Rosemonts on the surrealist special issue of *Radical America*?

PB: My chief anecdote about the surrealist special issue of *RA* has to do with the volunteer typesetter, Don McKelvey, who had been an office staffer for Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) early on. He quipped, "I'm glad I did this even if I DID NOT UNDERSTAND A SINGLE WORD." And that was the bemused Faithful Reader response, so far as I could tell.

The Surrealism issue appeared around the same time that we published two other special issues of *RA*. At the end of 1968, we released our best-seller, the "Komiks" issue, edited by Gilbert Shelton, which was mostly populated by artists of his group that had moved from Austin to the Bay Area. The other special issue of note during these years was *Society of the Spectacle* (Vol. 4, No. 5), which was the first appearance of the key 1967 Situationist document by Guy Debord, translated and highly illustrated in an unauthorized version by the Black & Red anarchist group led by Fredy Perlman in Detroit. The surrealist issue and our version of *The Society of the Spectacle* were beyond the purview of most readers, in language and even in ideas. However, they appeared in a moment when the New Left was trying to rethink itself and, in that sense, both issues were interesting for many people at the time, if not easy to absorb.

The "Komiks" special issue was readily absorbable because it was based on the underground comix then popular. It might be further said that the cultural discussion within and around *RA* also contained a small non-surrealist poetry series. Notably, we published a little booklet of d.a. levy's work a few months after his suicide; levy was among the most published of antiwar poets in the underground newspapers of the time.

The general cultural commentary in *RA*, ranging from discussions about Herbert Marcuse to the culture around the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (supported and articulated by Franklin's friends, who had brought C.L.R. James to Northwestern), was often very much in tune with Franklin's ideas.

In a way, our separate preparations for future work had been, by 1966-68, more or less completed. Much of what we would do later seems prefigured by this

Fig. 4. *Cultural Correspondence*, "Surrealism & its Popular Accomplices," guest edited by Franklin Rosemont, Nos. 10–11 (Fall 1979), courtesy of Paul Buhle and Hal Rammel

time. Surrealism offered a sidebar for me, just as many but by no means all of my interests did for him.

AS: How did Surrealism fit into the New Left through publications such as *Radical America* and *The Rebel Worker*? There is a 1971 letter from Franklin to you in the Radical America Archives at the Wisconsin Historical Society that states, "It is not less surrealism that will transform the world, but more surrealism, and still more surrealism—without concessions, without vulgarization—so much surrealism that things will never be the same."[2] It's clear that you sympathized with Franklin's passionate views about Surrealism to a large degree, but how did this sit with the rest of your community?

PB: Was the new wave of Surrealism part of the New Left whose more cerebral but also activist wing *Radical America* sought to represent? It's a good question, perhaps as good as what the role of popular culture meant to both of us, enthusiasts of both different and similar phenomena since childhood.[3]

The fall 1979 surrealist issue of *Cultural Correspondence* (*CC*,1975-1983), a

journal that I co-founded, spelled out, in a way, what we each had been thinking about, enjoying, or commenting on all the way along. That Franklin, as guest editor of that special issue, "Surrealism & its Popular Accomplices," had consolidated a collective thought, demonstrated that we had been moving this way all along.

Franklin extended our ideas on popular culture mainly through his contributions to the City Lights publication of *FREE SPIRITS: Annals of the Insurgent Imagination* in 1982, with Nancy Joyce Peters as lead editor. The low sales of *FREE SPIRITS* were a big disappointment to all, but perhaps especially to me. Lawrence Ferlinghetti had written for it and seemed to offer his stamp on it as the successor to the great in-house City Lights productions of the 1950s-60s. A second issue was planned but abandoned.

Friends of *Radical America* such as graduate students and others who were Trotskyists but of the softer, less sectarian kind, found the connections between Trotskyism and Surrealism intriguing, even if Surrealism itself was mostly off their charts. Anarchism was very much in the air with "youth culture." Yet Franklin was personally uneasy with marijuana. Likewise, the formal ideas of anarchism did not go well with the popular support of the National Liberation Front winning in Vietnam (also a problem of the hard-liners in the "Third Camp"), a sentiment that I very much shared, without illusions. The New Left had helped make possible the defeat of the United States, and that was our main purpose.

The differences were often in "voice." Denouncing capitalism, the military, war, racism, and so on, were common coin; denouncing sections of the Left seemed inappropriate to many New Leftists, who viewed the term "Stalinist" in about the same way as "Trotskyite Wrecker"— that is, as outdated verbiage.

"Mods, Rockers, and the Revolution," an essay by Franklin on early Rock and Roll, appeared in *The Rebel Worker* 3 (March 1965). Yet he observed a few years later that disillusionment had come quickly. Like others in my crowd and in the New Left, I groaned when the words "Surrealism" or "surrealistic" were used in ridiculous ways that blurred the historical value of the movement. But the general fondness for the Beatles and many others, especially those with rebellious themes, was charming and a good sign of the times, a view I do not think Franklin was likely to share.

So—and this is important—he was wildly enthusiastic about real Blues, free jazz, and so on, but his fondness for popular culture was otherwise mostly in the more or less distant past. This was understandable in more than one way: growing up in the 1950s, we saw everything in commercial styles and signage growing uglier as a result of standardization and suburbanization. He hated growing up in a suburb as much as he loved urban Chicago. Animated cartoons from the 1930s-'40s seemed, by contrast, utterly wonderful, while the current stuff, with some exceptions, was pretty awful. It was the same with many comic books of the late 1940s and early 1950s—we were enthusiastic. We also felt that way about the disappearance of Art Deco furniture or older automobile styles, and our views were shared by many

of the artists of the Underground comix scene, among others. I looked upon the underground newspapers as a brilliant reinvention of journalism, a mode in which poetry could appear on the front page, but I was unsure that Franklin shared this enthusiasm.

The non-use of marijuana, then, may have been a symptom of sorts. Franklin's need to defend the integrity of Surrealism made many of the elements of the counterculture seem odious. They appeared commercially based or tainted, a dilution or reversal of the original impulses of bohemianism and the avant-garde. It was an understandable response, but it was different from my response or that of my friends. Until the mid-1970s, people with long hair, smoking marijuana, were against the war and were more likely than any in generations to engage in nudity, among many other practices. We could believe that the avant-garde had found a new home.

When I hear about connections to Surrealism from radicals on the far left edges of the New Left, such as Ben Morea (co-founder of *Black Mask* magazine, 1966-68) and Jonathan Leake (co-founder of *Resurgence* magazine, 1964-67), it seems like surrealist ideas did, in fact, have a palpable impact on aspects of the American oppositional movements of the sixties, at least in the more extreme currents of youth resistance. But when you step back, you can't see much of Surrealism in the broader hippie counterculture beyond the trend of psychedelia.

Surrealists of the 1920s and early '30s looked upon themselves as *the* cultural vanguard, although the coming of fascism and antifascism pushed aside the key issues of absolute freedom, Freudianism and other concerns.

The rise of a new culture after 1965 or varieties of new cultures, heavily influenced by marijuana and LSD but also by the wave of consumerism aimed at young folks, not only made Surrealism a minor note but "not the latest thing," with all the implications. This was maddening to Franklin.

You observe that we find little contact between youth culture or the counterculture and Surrealism. Quite so. Part of this is related to the exploitation of the word "surrealist" as an adjective, used so loosely as to mean anything or nothing. Franklin was rightly sore about it. Another part of this popularization of "surrealist" as an adjective was the mostly white, middle-class character of this cultural phenomenon, which seemed to Franklin to dilute the meaning of rebelliousness within cultural trends and tastes. He often seemed to belong, in his mind, to earlier times, which intrigued me because I was a historian and therefore was fond of the same things.

RA was trying to take in various radical currents and Surrealism was one of them. No other art movement was promoted in that way, but it could be said that underground comix and the sharp rise of poster and mural art were the overwhelming choice of readers and people doing something radical in arts at the time. Franklin did not denounce them, but he did not know what to do with them, either.

Surrealism, the original and authentic version of it, made only a little dent. The influence was so scattered and among individuals who I would only meet decades later and who themselves never got in touch with Franklin. That was also the case with the *Radical America* material. We never knew who was touched by it, beyond limited circles. *Radical America* was not resented by others, but it seemed to leave little of an impression.

AS: When you and Franklin had disagreements, what were those disagreements about?

PB: The differences that I experienced with Franklin were painful to me because we had so much in common otherwise. Frequently, the differences were in tone. He once wrote that I tended toward the Depressive and he tended toward the Hysteric. That sounds right, and perhaps reveals more than sensibility. Raging verbal arguments between my parents may have predisposed me against polemics. But my approach to readers of *Radical America* was surely different from his, especially at the time.

Polemics against capitalism and empire seemed fine, even if done so frequently in the radical press that we did not need to add much and risked boring readers with repetitions. Polemics against fellow activists rubbed me the wrong way. This was part of the legacy on his part of literary polemics, the shock to the French bourgeois consciousness of the 1920s, and so on. It was also very much the legacy of Trotskyism, by which anything and anyone associated with the Communist movement had played or was playing a part in betraying socialist values.

My readers included many elderly ex-communists unembarrassed about their past, even when they later learned they had been wrong on some specifics, and even a handful of current communists who enjoyed a wide range of readings. For that matter, *Freedomways*, in the tradition of the Popular Front, was definitely the most beautiful magazine produced, year after year, within the American Left. In its pages, I would find a figure like Harry Belafonte, who had so influenced me in my younger years.

Not that I disdained Trotskyists, indeed many of my readers leaned in that direction. But *Radical America* was not attempting to appeal to dogmatists who were enraged all the time. Franklin was a cheerful soul but worked within the polemical tradition until the 1980s, or at least that was my personal and political observation.

AS: Why was it important that Franklin connected vernacular American culture to Surrealism?

PB: My own first leaning within the Marxist tradition was syndicalism, or rather, the ambiance and vision of the Industrial Workers of the World. Franklin's engage-

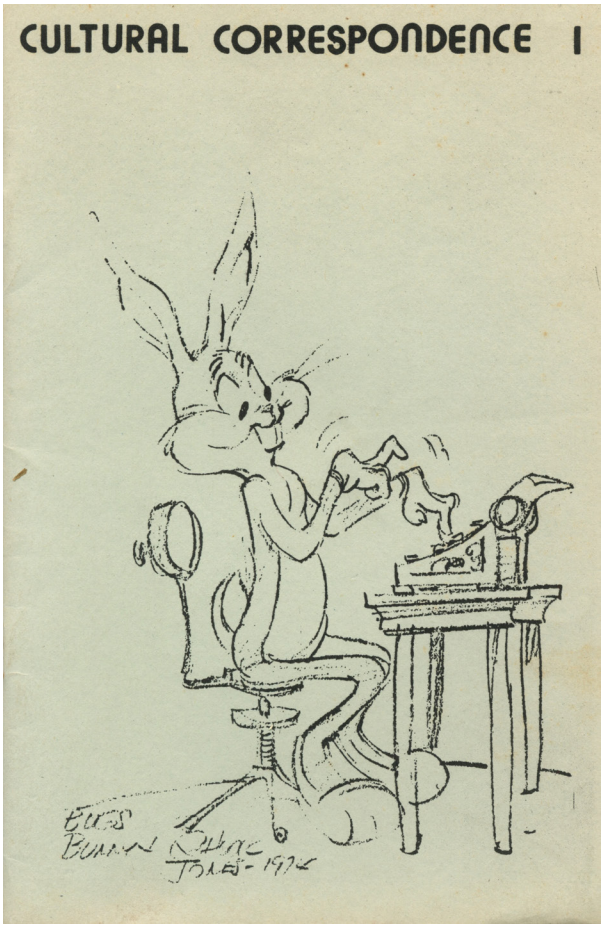

Fig. 5. Front cover of *Cultural Correspondence*, No. 1 (August 1975), courtesy of Paul Buhle

ment of Wobbly old-timers was *sui generis*: no one would have adopted T-Bone Slim or researched and written about the iconic Joe Hill in the ways that Franklin did. I came at the popular or folk culture of the Left from a different angle, combining the Woody Guthrie/Pete Seeger tradition within the Popular Front. The Guthrie/Seeger tradition was disdained furiously by Archie Green, the folklorist who would edit *The Big Red Songbook* and who found in Franklin many of the same tastes. The folkish theater, poetry, music and culture around the Communist-connected ethnic activities, also came to mean a lot to me, especially in the world of Yiddish speakers.

In 1975, following my amiable departure from *Radical America*, I launched *Cultural Correspondence*, a smaller project which took its name from a vanished tabloid correspondence and sought to understand popular culture sympathetically. The title also came more distantly from "Workers Correspondence," a communist initiative of the 1920s that misfired but had many good qualities, and little aesthetic overlap with Surrealism. Yet oddly, because of our personal relationship, *Cultural Correspondence*

would become the publication that included some of Franklin's best work on popular culture.

The "fusion" (perhaps too strong a word) of Surrealism and the Wobbly tradition would never have taken place without Franklin. Likewise, an approach to alternative, Left, working-class popular cultures of Chicago owed enormously to his work, and many Chicagoans entirely outside the surrealist circle or even the Left could appreciate the importance of the Dil Pickle Club or the Hobo University: these were a special something of Chicago.[4] Franklin "discovered" what had not been much observed or remembered, or had been disdained by the liberal and conservative critics within the traditions of the Popular Front—like Nelson Algren, the bard of the downtrodden who had also been co-chair of the Rosenberg Defense Committee.

AS: Can you tell me more about the "Surrealist Exhibition" from January 1-19, 1969, in Madison, where you were pursuing your doctorate? This show in Wisconsin was a sequel to an event of the same name that took place at the Gallery Bugs Bunny in Chicago (October 27–December 8, 1968). The Bugs Bunny curation was envisioned as a protest against the "Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage" exhibition curated by William Rubin at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) and shown in New York between the spring and summer of 1968 (the MoMA show then traveled to the Art Institute of Chicago during autumn, 1968). Many of the same artworks that were shown at Gallery Bugs Bunny also appeared in Madison.

PB: I would not have known in advance about the 1968 Gallery Bugs Bunny surrealist exhibit in Chicago or been close enough to visit in any case. But the documents sent to me about the exhibit made perfect sense as part of the milieux or constellation of radical cultural projects of the time.

In the first days of 1969, a small surrealist exhibit borrowing from Chicago and adding odd local items opened in the Wisconsin Student Association Bookstore, The Co-op, at 401 W. Gorham Street on the campus in Madison. The local underground newspaper, *Connections* (1967-69) ran a special issue (Vol. II, No. 11, June 1968) called "Tartuffles" that printed some surrealist slogans, such as "Long Live the Surrealist Revolution!" in connection with the show. The surrealist issue of *Radical America* that was published early in 1970 makes more sense in relation to those events.

My memory of this small surrealism exhibit at the Co-op Bookstore is dim. I visited but did not take part. Robert Green and Penny Rosemont brought the art in a truck. She stayed for a couple of days, and he stayed all week. *RA* was not involved, but we enjoyed it.

AS: What did you think about the Chicago Surrealist exchange with philosopher Herbert Marcuse at the 1971 *TELOS* conference and their epistolary contact with him throughout the rest of that decade?[5] Your support of them was crucial in terms of their invitation to the event. Recently I found another letter from Franklin to you in the Radical America Archives at the Wisconsin Historical Society reporting that Penelope Rosemont was fired from her job for "insubordination" for having attended the conference in New York, even though she was given permission to take the time off. How much do you remember about such details and others?[6]

PB: The *TELOS* conference, or rather my connection to it, came out of the common sensibilities of the journal *TELOS*, an academic journal of philosophy taken over the Paul Piccone around 1970. Piccone and I shared a devotion to Hegel, and along with that, a fondness for the contributions of Herbert Marcuse, the key speaker at the 1971 conference. I asked Piccone to invite Franklin, expenses included.

It would be too much to call this three-day event "pivotal." It was more typical of the moment when the organizations of the New Left, and also some of its publications, had collapsed. A large, radicalized audience of youngsters was looking for fresh ideas.

Nothing much did emerge, beyond the surrealist contact with Marcuse about which I learned more in later years. I am forgetting that one of my then-current students at Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School seized the opportunity to get a kiss from Marcuse, her idol—no small thing for her!

I have always thought that the personal contact of Marcuse and Rosemont was very fruitful, but any wider contact was rather spoiled by those around Franklin who foolishly wished to "discipline" Marcuse for his love of ex-surrealists who stayed with the Communists. Marcuse brushed them off and engaged in exchanging a series of letters with Franklin, quite something for this very famous global intellectual. Marcuse greatly admired Franklin's book, *What Is Surrealism?*

AS: When you became acquainted with Franklin in 1967, did either of you believe that significant change or even revolutionary change could come as a result of the student movement and other protest movements? Did those goals or hopes shift in any noticeable way as your friendship endured into the 1970s and '80s?

PB: The changes in the mood of the masses came at great speed beginning in 1965 and 1966, following almost a decade of the civil rights crusade, the Ban the Bomb movement, the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, urban uprisings, and early glimmerings of opposition to the role of the United States in Vietnam. The stirrings of the labor movement, long-awaited by the remnants of the "Old Left," came just a

few years later, with strikes and reform movements directed at the labor bureaucracy and rising militancy of women and non-white workers. All of this prompted a deeper sense that great changes really might be possible. "The Revolution," a phrase often heard in those days, seemed both rhetorical and real.

The difficulty, however, remained in the amorphous nature of anticipations. The old faith in "educational socialism" or "Party leadership" had been widely discredited, and the notion that the industrial working class would assume a supreme role had eroded in many ways, from the hawkish conservatism of AFL (American Federation of Labor) leadership to the conflicts faced by non-white and women workers. A "different kind of revolution" would be needed, but understandably, arguments for specifics were met with skepticism.

Franklin was much more skeptical about the role of students and by extension of the SDS, even as Penny worked in the SDS National Office. I experienced student movements on three campuses (Madison being the most vivid and well-organized) and was more convinced that students could provide an essential link in the chain of events.

On occasion, Franklin and I argued vigorously, sometimes a bit unpleasantly, over the legacies of the Old Left in particular, but also over matters of what might be called "taste" in music and the arts. Neither orthodox Trotskyism nor Free Jazz held my interest, but marijuana did hold my interest. After some bickering by mail, we would come together again, sometimes after I received a highly illustrated envelope from Franklin. In a practical sense, I would become, for the second time, an editor with pages to fill, and Franklin had materials to provide. He also offered a highly skilled layout team, mainly himself and Penny. For some readers of *RA* and *CC*, I was told, the layout was more interesting than the articles, perhaps because the language in the historical documents or old essays seemed so daunting. But these elements clearly worked together.

After the early 1980s, I became a prolific reviewer and worked hard to gain attention for the Charles H. Kerr publishing company, with which Franklin was intimately involved. The two of us had grown grey in the struggles, bonded by links from the past. But it was also true that the emerging history of Chicago's cultural politics in Kerr Books had a real presence for me, a child of a different Illinois. Comics presented fresh opportunities for collaboration, and I seized these possibilities eagerly.

1 For more details about the bi-monthly journal *Radical America* (1967-1999) founded by Paul Buhle, see the Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship, which includes open access PDFs of most of the journal issues:https://library.brown.edu/cds/radicalamerica/about.html.
2 Letter from Franklin Rosemont to Paul Buhle, May 18, 1971, Radical America Records, 1966-1975, Mss 271, box 3, folder 11, Wisconsin Historical Society.
3 Regarding Chicago Surrealism and popular culture, see: Joanna Pawlik, "Cartooning the Marvelous: Word and Image in Chicago Surrealism," in *Mixed Messages: American Correspondences in Visual and Verbal Practices*, ed. Catherine Gander and Sarah Garland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 67–84; Joanna Pawlik, "The Comic Book Conditions of Chicago Surrealism," in *Surrealism, Science Fiction and Comics*, ed. Gavin Parkinson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015); Joanna Pawlik*, Remade in America: Transnational Surrealism 1940–1978* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 195–228.
4 Franklin Rosemont, *The Rise & Fall of the Dil Pickle: Jazz-Age Chicago's Wildest & Most Outrageously Creative Hobohemian Nightspot* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 2004).
5 The Rosemonts and their friends were invited to speak at the Second *TELOS* International Conference, held in mid-November 1971 at SUNY Buffalo. See Abigail Susik, "Direct Action Surrealism in Chicago," in *Surrealist Sabotage and the War on Work* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 212.
6 Letter from Franklin Rosemont to Paul Buhle, December 12, 1971, Radical America Records, 1966-1975, Mss 271, box 3, folder 11, Wisconsin Historical Society.